

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!**

Soviet Anniversary Edition of the

# Workers' Council

AN ORGAN FOR THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Vol. I. (10¢ per Copy) New York, November 15, 1921 (\$1 per Year) No. 9



The Workers of the World Unite in Sending Their Fraternal Greetings to Their Victorious Russian Comrades on This, the Fourth Anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, November 7th, 1921.



## A Christmas Gift to Russia's Hungry

This is an announcement of a plan to raise \$2,000 immediately as a Christmas Gift for Russia's hungry.

Two thousand readers of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL can participate in this effort to help fight the famine in the Soviet Republic. If you want to be one of them, read on:—

You have all heard about, many of you, no doubt, have read Bishop William Montgomery Brown's great book, "COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM," of which 75,000 have already been sold.

It is "A remarkable book by a remarkable man," says the Freethinker.

This book analyzes and contrasts Communism and Christianity from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view.

Its bold recommendations are to, "BANISH GODS FROM THE SKIES AND CAPITALISTS FROM THE EARTH," and make the world safe for Industrial Communism.

Bishop and Mrs. Brown announce that they have had published a special De Luxe Edition of this work of 2,000 copies. This valuable edition will be disposed of at \$1.00 per copy.

Every cent of every dollar received from every copy sold will be devoted to Russian Famine Relief without the deduction of one penny for office or other expenses.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL is co-operating with Bishop and Mrs. Brown in bringing this announcement to the attention of the working men and women of the nation, the attention of the lovers of a good book and sympathizers with a great cause. Every copy of this edition should be disposed of in a few weeks.

Every dollar raised will be devoted to Russian Famine Relief thru THE WORKERS' COUNCIL RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF FUND, which is affiliated with the Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, distributing thru the Red Cross of the Russian Soviet Republic.

We want our \$2,000 to be used in the purchase of foods and medicines that will arrive in the Workers' Republic as a holiday greeting and gift from our host of readers. Order several copies of this book and use them as Christmas gifts to your relatives and friends.

### Send In Your Order Now!

Your order for as many copies of this book as you desire at \$1 apiece will be received by the:—

WORKERS' COUNCIL,

or by the:— Room 233, 80 E. 11th St., New York City,

Bradford-Brown Educational Co., Inc., Publishers, Galion, Ohio.



# The Workers' Council

Vol. I.

New York, November 15, 1921

No. 9

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## THE FIFTH YEAR DAWNS

This issue of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL reaches its readers as the fifth year dawns for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Two big facts stand forth as the toilers of the world celebrate the fourth anniversary, November 7, 1921, of the first Workers' Republic:

1. That the Russian Workers' Revolution is holding its own against all its combined enemies.
2. That the world revolution is much slower in coming than had been expected.

Soviet Russia stands victorious against all her foes, against interventionists without, against counter-revolutionists within.

She is mastering the great problems arising out of the all but crushing famine and plague.

The big problem now is that of reconstruction. It is as a result of the efforts of the workers' rule in this direction that the world imperialists are trying to gain some grain of comfort.

The fifth year of Soviet power will deliver the fatal blow to this capitalist hope. Moissaye J. Olgin deals with this problem to some extent in an article in this issue. It will be discussed more thoroughly in future issues of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL.

The Soviet Republic has already conducted many a strategic retreat to the great consternation of its enemies. It is doing so again.

But as the workers struggle to victory in Soviet Russia, they await the advance of labor in other countries.

Even tho slow in making progress, nevertheless, under the guidance of the Third (Communist) International, the world revolution is forging ahead. The strength of the advanced sections of the workers is everywhere being solidified, the proper tactics are being developed, the will on the part of the masses to win is crystallizing more and more.

**Cheers on the fourth anniversary of the Workers' Republic for the fifth year of Soviet rule! All hail the Russian Soviet Republic! Long live the World Revolution!**

You must get your friends and neighbors to subscribe for THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. One dollar per year, 50 cents for six months.

## THE FIGHT OF THE FARMERS

The farmers of the National Nonpartisan League have met a reverse in North Dakota. The latest returns indicate that their officials have been voted out of power in a recall election.

A. C. Townley, president of the League, has been committed to a county jail at Jackson, Minn., to serve a 90-day sentence for violation of the state anti-sedition law. The farmers opposed the late war, but they did not withdraw their opposition quick enough to escape prosecution for their officials.

The bought press will now as always herald the "crushing" of this form of radicalism among the farmers of the middle west. Thus it has always hailed a temporary victory over the workers, in the cities or on the land.

The Nonpartisan League tried to put some of its theories of state capitalism into effect in North Dakota, where it had won over a part of the state administration. In doing so it won the bitter hatred of the great grain interests of Minneapolis and Chicago, and also of the money power of Wall Street.

The result was a combination of all reactionary elements against it. Capitalist "democracy" was ready to hand. A recall election was secured. The power of money, of the bought press, of all the subsidized forces of reaction was too much for the youthful farmers' organization, deserted by many of its members and lacking in support because of crop failures and the fall in the price of wheat.

Whether the Nonpartisan League can long endure as an organization is a matter of debate even among its own members. Its favorite method of winning power through capturing the primaries of the old parties results in disintegration of its forces, instead of building up a powerful, well-knit movement. It has also been too much of a one-man organization—A. C. Townley.

That the farmers, through experiences gained with the Nonpartisan League, will move forward to greater efforts, to greater victories, to complete triumph, there can be no doubt. Let the farmers learn through their mistakes, win as the result of their defeats.



Judge A. B. Anderson, of Indianapolis, has issued another injunction against the coal miners, in an effort to cripple the workers in West Virginia. After the blow that Lewis, president of the miners, handed to Howatt, in jail in Kansas for the right to organize, the federal judge evidently got jealous and set out to vindicate himself as against the miners' reactionary executive.

### FOR SACCO AND VANZETTI

The department of justice announces that it is planning to institute a nation-wide investigation in an effort to connect American influence with the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations abroad.

No announcement has been made that there will be any probe of the legal lynching of the two Italian workmen now facing death on the gallows in Massachusetts.

It will avail Attorney General Daugherty nothing to attempt to discredit the world-wide demonstrations on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. He will only help emphasize the international solidarity of labor behind this issue. From all the large cities of the world, from London to Buenos Aires, from Paris to Rome, to South Africa, to Australia, the story repeats itself, of demonstrations, mass meetings, 24-hour strikes and other forms of protest.

It is said that bombs have been exploded on the doorsteps of American consulates abroad. The department of justice might get the facts about these bombings if it would probe the doings of its own secret service abroad. The Burns and the Thiel Detective Agencies, that have records for just such frame-ups, might be called in to help. But of course any danger of getting at the real truth will be carefully avoided.

In the meantime the words of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti continue to cut thru their prison walls:

"We have been wrongly convicted of an atrocious murder committed by persons other than ourselves. The crime was one entirely independent of the struggle of the workers to better their conditions.

"We are not the type of men who steal and murder. No man who is in a normal mental condition ever commits murder.

"We do not want to die uselessly. Let our death—if we must die—usher in a world where there will be no master class to still the voices of those who would be free."

Let the solidarity of the workers in other lands be an inspiration to the organized labor movement of America. The toilers of the United States, thru their united action, must win freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Russia's workers demonstrated for Tom Mooney before the American embassy at Petrograd. And the capitalist press opened its columns to the news of this attempted assassination of a worker. Similarly, the workers of the world are now notifying the toilers of the United States, of the danger that threatens Sacco and Vanzetti. What will America's workers do about it?

Dedicated to the Memory of the

### RAILROAD STRIKE

It Died October 28, 1921,

Requiem by L. E. SHEPPARD, of the Conductors:

"We cannot fight the government"

Assisted by JOHN L. LEWIS, president of the coal miners, who used same words in killing mine strike of 1919.

Loads of flowers from Wall Street.

War was again glorified as Foch addressed the American Legionnaires at Kansas City and the conference for the limitation of armaments was forgotten.

### OUR FRONT COVER

Our front cover this month is a reproduction of the front cover of "The Communist International," the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

This publication appears simultaneously in English, Russian, French and German, being issued from the Smolny Institute, at Petrograd, the headquarters of the Third International.

The figure of the worker striking the chains of wage slavery from the earth has been taken as the emblem of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, and appears upon all the dues stamps issued by the organization.

Our front cover is a special feature of this issue dedicated to the four years' struggle of the Russian workers, a struggle that has become an inspiration to the workers of the world.

### \$2,000 FOR RUSSIA

We know that all of our readers will be especially interested in the nature of this week's appeal for the famine-stricken of Soviet Russia.

At many mass meetings, during the past few weeks, more than \$2,000 has been raised for the famine fund.

Thru the generosity and co-operation, however, of our comrade, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, author of "Communism and Christianity," we are enabled not only to send \$2,000 to Soviet Russia, but also put 2,000 copies of a good book in circulation in this country.

The announcement on the inside of the front cover should be sufficient to bring the necessary response immediately. We should be able in our next issue to announce that this entire special edition has been disposed of.



# The Fourth Anniversary of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic\*

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

**S**UFFERING. Hunger. Loneliness. A shattered economic machine. A disorganized, disordered agricultural system. Millions are stared in the face by hunger-death.

A weary land. Empty, vacant faces. Starved, wasted bodies. Ruin, sorrow.

And the petty-bourgeois sits back comfortably in his cozy home, gleefully rubs his hands and gives thanks unto the fates that have spared him and his country the unhappiness of "Bolshevik" experimentation. And the calmer intellectual sits back and asks—"Really, what was the idea of this whole affair? Was it necessary?"

## New Worlds Born in Pain

We take leave of the petty-bourgeois that can still feel themselves comfortable. Their kind have never yet heard the wild screech of historic winds. The thundering storm of revolutionary epochs is not for them.

We turn to those who themselves know that new worlds are born only in suffering, pain, and fierce struggling.

Let us turn together to examine briefly the gains and the losses of Russia's working classes, and Russia's masses, in the four years of revolutionary strife.

## A Brief Review

1. The Russian revolution has first of all guaranteed the existence of the Russian state and the intactness of Russian territory.

Not one enemy turned to Russia to tear the land to shreds.

There was a time when Russia was so weak that it seemed sure that every one could come to tear part of Russia away and do with it as he willed. That is now long past.

Now, on the threshold of the fourth year of the November (1917) revolution, Russia is once more a strong, united power which every other power must reckon with carefully.

Poland is on the outside, but Poland never was an organic part of the Russian state.

Finland is on the outside. But Finland never was an integral part of Russia.

## Baltic Provinces to Join Republic

The Baltic provinces are economically bound up with Russia, and they are now outside of the country, but sooner or later these provinces will have to become part of the Russian Federated Republic.

All the other divisions of Russia are consolidated, unified, and form one mighty power, notwithstanding the fact that they are composed of different

nationalities with various languages, and various cultures.

2. The Russian revolution has permitted all the non-Russian nationalities freely to develop their national life and culture. Not only is there national autonomy for the Ukraine, for White Russia, for the Tartars, and the other peoples that occupy definite territories.

But there has also been established intra-territorial autonomy, national autonomy for those people who do not happen to compose a majority in a given stretch of land.

## Jews Obtain Free Conditions

The Jews in Russia, for example, have obtained the freest conditions possible for developing their national language, their national teaching, and every other phase of national culture.

For the first time in the history of modern peoples there has been created the possibility for free co-operation among different nationalities within the boundaries of one country.

3. The Russian revolution has established an armed power to protect the country.

If, in 1917, the old army was in continual demoralization, and in constant retreat from the slightest attack by the enemy; if, in 1918, Russia was totally unprotected and it seemed as if a few thousand Czecho-Slovaks would easily be able to overturn the new order; their new revolutionary army in 1919 and 1920 proved that the revolutionary masses have the will and the courage to organize themselves into a new military power, to sacrifice themselves and to die on the battlefields in the struggle for their country.

## Calls Red Army a Miracle

It looked like a miracle—this building up of a new army on the ruins of the old.

It was possible only because a new hope shone for the workers of Russia, because a new ideal roused their spirits to the rebirth—the stirring of a new life. If at present, after four years of imperialistic onslaught, there are but few contenders to attempt to overthrow the new order thru armed force, it is because the young republic has proved that she can wield an iron fist.

4. The Russian revolution has instituted a new political system where the old order had left only barrenness.

Eight months after the fall of Nicholas II. the coalition government attempts to establish law and order in Russia, but it was not successful.

Its law was to be bourgeois law, and its order such as to protect the privileges of the ruling classes.

\* Translated from the "Naye Welt."



It was not for that that the revolutionary workers, the revolutionary peasants, and the revolutionary soldiers sacrificed themselves.

### Power of Soviets Established

For a period of eight months there was no central power in Russia to carry on the affairs of the government.

It seemed as if anarchy would take the place of organized society, that uprisings, civil war, and unceasing strife would tear the government to shreds.

Then came the power of the Soviets instituting the new proletarian law and the new revolutionary order—and the masses followed, and they signified their approval, for it satisfied their demands and their social ideals.

Thus there was again established in Russia an organized governmental power to carry on the affairs of the land.

The Soviet government is one of the most powerful in the world; it is wielding a vast and profound influence on the minds of the masses.

This was possible, of course, only because the Soviets were born from the deepest needs of the masses. It was possible because the Soviets are now the most constant and direct expression of the daily needs of the people.

### Old Bureaucracy is Abolished

5. The Russian revolution has abolished the old bureaucracy which, even in Kerensky's regime, occupied so important a place in the governmental machinery.

The administration of all branches of social existence is now in new hands.

The administrators of the new order have not always had the requisite experience or the most far-seeing vision as to the needs of the government.

But they have never feared to admit errors, and have constantly sought new methods. The whole tone of Russia's political and social life has assumed a new character. The old has disappeared. The new may seem untimely and unworkable. But the new is here, and the way back is closed.

### Dreams Have Been Realized

6. The Russian revolution has abolished private ownership of the means of production, and for the whole of four years Russia has maintained the new anti-capitalist system.

Never before in the annals of a great modern people has such a system been tried.

This is the new, the mighty contribution that the Revolution has given to the social experience of mankind.

That which Socialist theory foretold on the basis of its research has now become a living fact in Russia.

What the dreamers and militant spirits of different lands yearned for and hoped for, and yet themselves hardly dreamt was possible, has been realized by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

For four years Russia has been free from private ownership. There has been no profit system, no exploitation, no domination of man over man.

For four continuous years the law of the land has been that he who does not work shall not eat.

If the Russian revolution has in the last six months recognized that it must call private initiative and private undertaking to its aid, it was due not to the collapse of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but rather to the realization that this dictatorship cannot of its own sheer strength rebuild the economic ruin left by six years of war.

### The New Economic Policies

7. The new economic policies of the Soviet Government are a concession to the peasant class. The revolution gave to the peasants the soil of the landowners, to the workers control over the factories and workshops. So long as the war against the internal and external foe was on, both classes were united in their defense of the revolution.

The peasant sent his sons to the Red Army to withstand the white generals and landowners who, if victorious, would take back the confiscated properties.

The working class gave all its strength to ensure the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

When the war was over, however, and the country turned to the work of reconstruction on a peaceful basis, it became clear that the peasant was not yet ready to institute a Socialist system.

It became clear that the peasants are not willing to work for the whole land, but for themselves, and to satisfy their own interests.

### Peasants Temporarily Victorious

If Russian industry were not so terribly crippled after the long years of war, the workers would be able to satisfy the peasants with manufactured goods and so provide the state with agricultural products. But the factories and workshops were stricken harder than the agricultural districts. The peasantry found itself in an advantageous position and able to dictate its demands to the working class. It demanded that the government surrender its monopoly on agricultural products.

Temporarily the peasants have won. The proletarian government was forced to recognize the right of the peasant to his own labor—that is, to recognize the principle of bourgeois exchange in agriculture.

That necessitates giving up government monopolies.

The end of the fourth year of Proletarian Dictatorship finds the peasant once more a small proprietor, the storekeeper and trader private owners.

### Faces Final Dismissal Soon

8. The capitalistic world gloated over the temporary return to capitalism. The bourgeois Socialists gloated even more perhaps than the bourgeois themselves over the "failure of the Communist experiment."

The truth is that these gentlemen are glorying over something which they cannot understand.

For in fact capitalism comes back to Russia not like a ruler, or a conqueror, but like a discharged worker who is called back to finish a certain task before final dismissal.

The administration of the government remains



## The Fourth Anniversary and the World Battle

**T**HE series of measures introduced in April, May and June, forming in their totality the new economic policy of the Soviets, has aroused an enormous volume of discussion both in Russia and abroad.

It is very significant to note that those who saw in them a renunciation of all the basic ideas of the Soviet system and an unconditional surrender to capitalism, were the sharpest opponents of the Soviet system, who had criticized it for forcing communism on Russia, which, in their opinion, was not ripe for experiments of this nature. One would have been inclined to think that the new set of measures would meet the approval of all these elements.

Indeed, within the ranks of the active Russian workers, who were fully alive to the demands of the moment, there was no marked consternation over the inaugurated concessions.

It may be well to quote an excerpt from an address delivered by Lenin at the Communist Conference in Moscow. With the sober vision and practical good sense that characterize all his utterances, he admitted that the new policy was a concession to the spirit of small ownership within Russia; he did not, however, consider the principles of the Revolution abandoned. The fight, in his opinion, was transferred from the political field into the realm of economic reconstruction.

"Russia," he said, "is now attracting the attention of the workers of all countries, without exception. This is no exaggeration. This is one positive result of the revolution. The capitalists will not be able to pass it by in silence. Therefore, they try to point at its economic errors and weakness. Here is where the fight now rages on a world-wide scale.

**"IF WE SOLVE THIS PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, WE SHALL HAVE WON A WORLD BATTLE, DECISIVELY AND COMPLETELY.** This is why the problems of economic reconstruction acquire an exceptional significance for us. We must win the fight on this front by slow and gradual but inflexible rise and progress."

as before in the hands of the peasant and working class.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not broken.

Both the peasant and the worker are opposed to capitalism, even though their motives may not be the same. Neither of these ruling classes, the worker or the peasant, has any desire to institute in Russia the rule of capital.

Both classes will watch each step, every move of the capitalist groups, and will not permit them to become the rulers of the country.

### Capitalism Is Merely Tool

Capitalism in its present form is no more than a tool in the hands of the workers and peasants, whereas in all other lands the workers and peasants are mere tools in the hands of capitalism.

Therein is the fundamental difference between the Soviet republic and the capitalistic governments.

How long the temporary stay of the recalled capitalism will endure will depend on the speed of Russia's economic reconstruction.

When the factories are running again, when the railroads are improved, it will be possible to ask capitalism again to leave the social field, and it will not have power enough to oppose the request.

Even if Russian capitalism were to become a significant factor in Russian life, its power is undermined, its backbone broken.

It will never again have the might and the audacity which characterizes capitalism in other countries.

The four years of Communist administration without capital and without private ownership cannot be wiped from the face of the earth.

Even if the Russian merchant and banker should once more revel in prosperity, Russia has nevertheless given capitalism its greatest blow. On the one side the government, on the other side the trade unions will stand guard over the workers' interests and will not allow the profit-makers to become lords over life. Now they are servants in the employ of the Proletarian Dictatorship, not rulers.

### Building the New World

9. The Russian revolution has begun to build a new world. It has called into existence unknown powers; it has spread a flood of thought among the vast masses, has opened up a world of education and knowledge to the workers and peasants of Russia.

It has created the foundation for a new mass-culture, for a new literature, for a new art.

And so, tho the country writhe in pain on the present anniversary, and tho millions suffer inhuman woe, and tho hunger-death stares millions in the face, and tho they of narrow vision all over the world see only misery and suffering in the revolution, nevertheless, in the light of history, on the broad path of historic development, the Russian revolution is a momentous step forward.

It is a beneficent storm which at the same time has uprooted a whole world, but raised it to a higher stage of development and growth.



# We Want An Open

**T**O-DAY, to speak in favor of open propagation of Communist principles by means of a legal political organization, is like carrying coals to New Castle.

It is true, there is, in the Communist Party of America, still a strong sentiment against an open movement.

But in spite of this vehement dissension on the part of certain groups, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has found that its first attempt in New York City to organize a vehicle for public Communist propaganda, in response to the instructions issued by the Third (Communist) International, has met with such immediate response that there can be no doubt as to the success of such a move on a national scale.

**NOR ARE THERE ANY SERIOUS DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE THEORETICAL POSITION TO BE ADOPTED.**

\* \* \* \*

## **MUST PROPAGATE PUBLICLY**

**THE WORKERS' COUNCIL** and the groups that it represents have always maintained that Communism can and must be publicly and legally propagated at the present stage of revolutionary development in the United States.

It has opposed going underground for the purpose of teaching insurrection and armed force, because such a course will ultimately make the propaganda of violence and insurrection the aim and object of the organization.

Now that the underground also admits the necessity of public propaganda and is prepared to assist in the establishment of an open party, there will be no difficulty in uniting all of these forces upon a theoretical program that will join under one banner all elements in the United States that support the Third International.

**AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE ONLY QUESTION THAT STILL DIVIDES THESE GROUPS FROM COMPLETE AMALGAMATION IS THE QUESTION OF CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A SECRET ORGANIZATION SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE OPEN PARTY.**

\* \* \* \*

## **MUST ALL WORK TOGETHER**

This is by no means an unimportant consideration. The "secret" organization, as it is contemplated by its sponsors, is to act in the capacity of a controlling organ, directing the activities of the public party, representing it internationally, determining its tactics and its principles.

They insist on a system of parallel underground groups whose membership shall, in all important questions, act as a determined unit in the open organization.

In other words, the secret organization is to be the mind and the soul of the public body.

We do not deny that it is easier to maintain litlital purity in a body that is underground.

**ITS VERY METHOD OF ORGANIZATION PRESUPPOSES BLIND FAITH IN LEADERS AND UNQUESTIONED OBLEDIENCE TO THEIR DICTATES.**

**BUT IT IS THE PURITY OF A SECT BELIEVERS, AT A TIME WHEN WE NEED THE UNITED THINKING POWER OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT TO STEER CLEAR OF THE SNAGS AND THE ROCKS THAT HINDER OUR PROGRESS.**

\* \* \* \*

## **CONDITIONS RAPIDLY CHANGING**

The greatest leaders have made mistakes.

We are living in a world of adjustments.

Conditions are changing almost hourly. New unforeseen situations are constantly arising.

The greatness of events of the last two years has distorted our vision, has often bereft us of sense of proportion.

Humanity has changed, and it is often difficult to interpret its temper.

We cannot judge world-events by our old accustomed standards. Our new standard must be adjusted to new conditions.

The movement that is virile and alive will live by mistakes, will live them down and be the greater for the fact that they have occurred.

But when we give into the hands of a few leaders the power to dictate the policy of an entire movement, these mistakes become dangerous.

They will become more numerous, for there is nothing more salutary than the knowledge that a thousand critical eyes are watching every move that is being undertaken, that a thousand intelligent minds are weighing the "pros" and "cons" of every contemplated action.

\* \* \* \*

## **DANGERS OF SECRET CONTROL**

Their effect is more deadly, for they become an integral part of the organism, poisoning its vitality and laming its effectiveness.

They cannot be so easily remedied, for it is human nature to persist in one's errors at all costs rather than to admit that one has been mistaken.

**THE UNDERGROUND FORM OF ORGANIZATION PLACES A PREMIUM ON MEDIOCRITY.**

**THAT PART OF THE MEMBERSHIP THAT HAS THE DESTINIES OF THE MOVEMENT MOST AT HEART, AND FEELS ITS INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY MOST KEENLY, THAT CAN THREATEN IT FOR ITSELF AND SEES THE MISTAKES**



# Communist Party

THAT ARE BEING MADE, MUST STRUGGLE AGAINST ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS TO MAKE ITSELF HEARD AND TO MAKE ITS INFLUENCE FELT.

SUCH MEMBERS WILL BECOME DISCOURAGED, WILL BECOME INACTIVE, WILL EVENTUALLY RESIGN, WHERE THEY ARE NOT EXPELLED.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES WILL BE FILLED WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL TAKE DICTATION, WHO CAN BE RELIED UPON TO CARRY OUT EVERY ORDER THAT IS HANDED DOWN TO THEM.

\* \* \* \*

## TOO MUCH DISCIPLINE

"But you must have discipline!

"Was it not because the Second International was afraid to impose its will upon the national Socialist movements that the great debacle took place in 1914?

"Is it not the duty of the Third International to keep strict watch over its component parts?

"Must it not guard against the disruptive influence of those who are anti-revolutionary in ought and action?"

MOST ASSUREDLY!

BUT THERE IS EVER PRESENT THE DANGER THAT DISCIPLINE BECOMES TYRANNY.

MORE THAN ONCE, IN RECENT YEARS, PARTY AUTOCRACIES HAVE USED THEIR POWER TO EXACT OBEEDIENCE FROM THE MEMBERSHIP AS A WEAPON AGAINST ITS MOST REVOLUTIONARY MEMBERSHIP.

Karl Liebknecht failed to oppose war-credits in the Reichstag on August 4, 1914, because this fetish of party discipline was still too strongly imbedded in his nature.

Hugo Haase delivered the speech that justified the position of the German social-patriots in the Reichstag, against his own conscience, because he had been taught, for more than a generation, that party discipline must be maintained under all circumstances.

\* \* \* \*

## REVOLUTIONARY LABOR HELD BACK

Their failure to break these bonds held back the revolutionary proletariat for years, produced discouragement, while we needed courage, hopelessness where enthusiasm might have won the day.

The American Socialist Party used discipline as its weapon against its own refractory revolutionists. In the name of party discipline local after local was

expelled and delegates thrown out of the convention.

The comrades who are prepared to join the open Communist movement will have little patience with such methods.

Many of them are workers who went enthusiastically into one or the other of the Communist parties in 1919, only to leave, after they had united, because membership in the United Communist Party, as well as in the Communist Party, entailed a degree of self-abnegation and submission to authority that they were unwilling to tolerate.

"But you will lose control of your organization if you throw it open to the entire working class, unless you have beside it a secret body of tried Communists who will keep it politically sound.

"As the movement becomes larger you will have to deal with political demagogues, with would-be office-holders, who will destroy its revolutionary spirit with their opportunism."

\* \* \* \*

## LET US BE CALM

Be calm, comrades!

Our movement will not grow so rapidly that the education of its new members will not be able to keep pace with it.

Let us concentrate our effort upon our open organization, and there will be no need for outside control.

The party that must be controlled from without is not worth having.

THE MOVEMENT WHOSE MEMBERSHIP UNDERSTANDS SO LITTLE OF ITS IDEALS AND PURPOSES AS TO NEED THE WATCHFUL EYE OF A SECRET CAUCUS, IS A MENACE TO THE WORLD-REVOLUTION AND SHOULD BE ABANDONED.

A clear-cut program that places the party unequivocally among the world's revolutionary movements, political campaigns that are straight and do not subordinate the revolutionary purpose of the movement to the need of getting votes, a press that does not make concessions to its readers, these must be our safeguards.

\* \* \* \*

## DOOMED BY TOO MUCH CARE

Just as a child will not become self-reliant so long as it is kept under the watchful eye of its mother, so must our movement grow up free from the surveillance of the parent body, free from a guardianship that will doom it from the outset to ineffectiveness.

OUR UNDERGROUND BROTHERS ARE PLANNING A SORT OF RADICAL PARTY UNDER COMMUNIST DIRECTIONS.

WE WANT AN OPEN COMMUNIST PARTY.



# Socialism and Reformism in Italy

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

**T**HE Italian Socialist Party announced its adherence to the Third International in March, 1919, thru a decision of its National Executive Committee. This act was ratified later in the year by an overwhelming vote of the delegates at the Bologna Congress.

The Italian party was the first Socialist party of size and influence to join the nascent revolutionary International. While the news of its adherence to the Moscow organization was of more than casual interest, it did not come as a surprise to informed Socialists.

By throwing its lot with the Third International, the Italian party rounded out a Socialist and internationalist career of which any workers' party could be proud.

## Took Stand Against War

Thruout the critical years of the war the party remained faithful to International Socialism.

It supported the Zimmerwald and Kienthal movements organized by the Socialist minorities of the belligerent countries in opposition to the social patriotic activities of the Socialist parties of those countries.

It withdrew from the International Socialist Bureau and declined to send delegates to the Berne conference which was sponsored by that Bureau in an attempt to resuscitate the shattered Second International.

The Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, another social-patriotic conclave, was denounced by the Italian Socialists, and when the American "Socialist" and Labor delegation came to convert them to an espousal of the "democratic" war aims, it was met with derision.

## Denounced the "Class Peace"

The Italian party maintained its revolutionary tradition and, together with the Socialist minorities of other European countries, spoke to the workers of the world against the imperialist war and denounced the class peace of the Socialist majorities.

When the minorities later joined the victorious Russian Socialists in forming the Third International as a protest against the traitorous behavior of the leading parties of the Second International, the Italian party became a member of the new revolutionary body.

The Second Congress of the Third International promulgated the famous 21 points which, among other things, demanded of the various adhering parties that they cleanse their ranks of reformers and pure-and-simple parliamentarians.

While the Italian party consisted in the main of revolutionary Socialists, it had, nevertheless, a strong reformist element believed to be a danger-

ous factor during the impending revolutionary struggles in Italy.

The reformists included an array of parliamentary and labor leaders of great repute and influence in the Socialist and labor movements. Turati, Treves, Modigliani, Prampolini, D'Aragona and others made no secret of their reformist tendencies, and the party always had to keep close watch over their activities.

## Serrati Turns "to the Right"

The Third International advised the Italian party to drop these reformist leaders and free itself of their pernicious influence. The leadership of the party was in the hands of people who put unity above everything else. Serrati, member of the Executive Committee of the Third International and recognized leader of the party, altho realizing the hardship which retaining the reformist element would entail, bitterly opposed the expulsion of Turati and his followers from the party.

Under the leadership of Serrati, the majority of the party delegates at the Livorno Congress last January refused to ratify the 21 points.

The Left faction at the convention, which claimed a following of about 50,000 members, withdrew and organized a Communist Party. Unconditional affiliation with the Third International was voted by the new organization.

## Lose 50,000 to Gain 14,000

The "Unitarians," representing the majority of the party, allowed the split with a loss of 50,000 members in order to retain a reformist following of about 14,000.

The representative of the Third International at the Livorno Congress, the Bulgarian Communist Kabatchkov, contributed to the conditions which brought about the split.

The opinion still prevails in some Communist quarters that the Third International erred in permitting the Left in the Italian party to withdraw at that time.

It is maintained that a way should have been found to isolate all truly revolutionary elements from the reformists, and retain the powerful Italian party in the Third International.

Notwithstanding the desertion of the Communists, and the refusal to accept the 21 points, the Socialist Party adopted at Livorno the so-called Bentivoglio resolution providing for negotiation with the Third International for continued affiliation.

## Demand for Collaboration Grows

It was under this resolution that a delegation consisting of the former secretary of the party, the veteran Lazzari, Dr. Maffi and Riboldi attended



the Third Congress of the Communist International last July to lay the matter of the Italian party before the International.

No sooner had the heat of the memorable controversy at Livorno died out when the Socialist Party began to feel the effects of the unholy alliance with reformism.

Instead of being able to control it, it saw reformism raise its head and threaten to attack the party at its most revered tradition. The reformists began to demand collaboration with other parties. The goal of pure-and-simple parliamentarism is participation in the government.

Those who can read Socialist history aright can foresee the future of the Italian Socialist Party if it should choose to go the way the collaborationists have charted for it.

When the Third International made it mandatory upon the Italian party to break with the reformists, the party pleaded for the right to retain them and tried to persuade the International that the Italian reformists were different from those in other countries, that they were harmless, and that the party could exercise complete control over them.

### Just Like Reformists Here

While it is true that compared with the leadership of the American Socialist Party, the Italian reformists appear as revolutionists, yet their characteristic features are the same.

Parliamentarism, instead of being an aid in the revolutionary struggle, has become with them an end in itself. Instead of battle cries born out of the class struggle, they have inscribed on their pink banners—votes, offices, legislative measures as goals of their strivings.

Those who watch over the destinies of Italian Socialism know the danger which lies in the course advocated by the Turati elements. The agitation of the latter must have reached an acute stage if the National Executive Committee of the party decided to call an extraordinary convention to deal with this issue.

The Convention took place in Milan, October 8-12. The party administration declared in its manifesto to the members that it considered it incompatible with the class character of Italian Socialism to sponsor participation in bourgeois governments and announced that the Socialist Party had no place for those who favored such a policy.

### Zetkin Speaks for "The Third"

The question of dealing with the reformists was bound up with the question of affiliation with the Third International. Clara Zetkin, who made as spectacular an appearance at Milan as she did at Tours, when the French government did not allow her to enter the country, pointed out to the Italian Socialists in behalf of the Executive Committee of the International, that the party must break with the reformists before it could claim complete adherence to the International.

Clara Zetkin was among those whose voices were raised against the tactics of the Third International at Livorno. She could view the Italian situation with sympathy. She now saw that the

Italian Socialists themselves began to fear the growing strength of the reformists in the party.

Unfortunately, in addition to Clara Zetkin, the Executive Committee of the International also sent to the Milan Congress the Polish Communist Waleski. His attitude was not conducive to a friendly understanding.

The cudgels of the fight for a complete break with the Turati elements were taken up by the delegation to the Third Congress. Altogether four resolutions were presented which dealt with the question of collaboration:

1. Turati demanded open collaboration with the bourgeois government. He wanted the party committed to the policy of participation in the cabinet without reservations.

2. Alessandri proposed a modification of the Turati position. He favored collaboration only under certain circumstances.

3. Serrati was opposed to collaboration. He favored complete control and discipline over party members. Those favoring collaboration must abide by the decision of the party on the question. Unity must be maintained, and if membership in the Third International meant a rupture with a portion of the party membership, he was for unity first of all.

### Urge Adherence to Moscow

4. Lazzari sponsored the unconditional affiliation with the Third International, the ratification of the 21 points and the removal from the party of the ever present danger of neutralizing the revolutionary and class struggle character of the party by expelling the reformists.

Lazzari and his co-delegates who went to Moscow to argue for the Serrati position came back convinced that the policies of the latter were becoming a menace to the Socialist movement in Italy. They called upon the party to go with the Third International as that was a guarantee against the possible disintegration of the party both in principle and members.

The Serrati position again prevailed. The party has become altogether detached from the Third International and is now drifting.

### Like Haase in Germany

Serrati's attitude reminds one of the position the late Hugo Haase took as chairman of the German Social-Democratic Party. He was opposed to the social-patriotic policy of the Scheidemann majority. He was opposed to voting war credits and making a class peace with the German Government. But he would not support the Liebknecht attitude of rebellion against the rule of the majority. Unity of the party was then uppermost in his mind. Only when the majority betrayed every Socialist principle the party ever stood for, did Haase agree that a break was necessary and joined in the formation of the Independent Socialist Party.

How long will Serrati have to wait to realize that the reformist policy of the Turati faction is an ever present danger within the Socialist Party? The time came when Haase had to declare that **unity of principle was more important than unity of organization**. When will Serrati be ready to utter the same truth?



# U. S. Socialism Brought Up-To-Date

By BENJAMIN GLASSBERG

**T**HE municipal campaign waged by the Socialist Party in the City of New York, in 1917, will long be remembered for the remarkable enthusiasm it aroused among the masses.

Stunned by the sudden shift in the Wilson policy which hurled America into the throes of the World War, large sections of the workers flocked to the standards of the Socialist Party, which practically alone among the organized political forces in the United States had declared against the war.

From many platforms thruout the city Socialist speakers emphasized the economic causes of all wars including the World War.

In spite of themselves the party speakers found themselves drifting away from the many immediate demands which cluttered up the municipal platform and brought a distinctly revolutionary message to the workers.

The astute campaign managers did their utmost to check this tendency and to keep the party in the narrow reformistic lines which they thought proper.

They plastered the city with cuts showing a milk bottle which Morris Hillquit would enable the people to buy at a very cheap price.

It almost seemed as if they sought to drown the revolutionary developments of the campaign in a sea of cheap milk.

## High Tide of Socialist Activity

Election day found that Hillquit had received the tremendous vote of 150,000, several times as large as any previous vote received by the Socialist Party in New York City.

In many respects the campaign of 1917 marked the high tide of Socialist activity. When the 1918 campaign arrived, the spirit and the enthusiasm so much in evidence the year before was manifestly lacking, for in the meantime the Socialist members of the Board of Aldermen had voted for the Liberty Loan. Many of the party's most active workers were noticeably absent from the platform where they had been found for years.

Soon after began the formation of the Left Wing section which led directly to the expulsion and suspension of the Communist elements.

## It's the Same Old Campaign

The Socialist Party of New York City has just engaged in another municipal campaign, the first since 1917. Outwardly everything is the same, that is, if one were to rely on the party mouthpiece, the New York Call.

The old familiar party candidates have faced us once more. Not a one is missing. Call the roll and they are all there: Panken, Oneal, Beckerman, Waldman, Solomon, Tuvim, Beardsley, Rosenberg, Vladeck, Berenberg, Shiplacoff, Block, Lee, Karlin, etc., etc. No matter how rapidly the rank and file

may desert the Socialist Party because of its betrayal of the principles of revolutionary Socialism, the leaders never will. No branch is too small to nominate them for office.

A review of the character of the propaganda disseminated by the Socialist Party should be sufficient to convince the worker that, judged by this campaign, in which the best "brains" of the party are actively engaged, the Socialist Party has long ceased to represent any kind of Socialism, or to speak in the name of the class-conscious workers of America.

## He Eases the Shocks of Capitalism

The standard bearer of the party is the perennial Jacob Panken. Two years ago, the New York Call, in describing the work of Panken as a municipal court justice, said in a headline, "Panken Eases the Shocks of the Capitalist System." That sentence, better than anything else, characterizes the 1921 municipal campaign of the Socialist Party.

Its platform and the speeches of its candidates and propagandists are all smeared with the same tar, all bear the same taint of reformism.

The one message of the Socialist Party is to prove to the workers that its program can better "ease the shocks of the capitalist system" than the Republican or Democratic parties.

One may search in vain thru the many columns of the Call which daily recount the sayings of the great and the near great in the Socialist campaign for some indication of what Socialism is supposed to be, of any intention or desire to overthrow the capitalist system and to substitute the rule of the workers in place of the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

## Panken Believes in "The Press"

The chief issues of the campaign, Panken tells us, are the high cost of living, unemployment, traction, housing, taxation, civil service and the schools. My election—Panken assures the workers—will mean better schools, cheaper bread, less unemployment, etc., etc.

He challenges Hylan and Curran to debate the issues of the campaign on the steps of the City Hall, and is convinced that the public-spirited press (sic) would help spread the various points of view.

It would be interesting to know just what Panken has in mind as constituting the public-spirited press.

The fact that because of such a thing as a debt limit the city could not undertake what Panken urges, does not seem to trouble him.

The fact, further, that even if the city were to carry out the whole Panken program, capitalism would be just as healthy and vigorous as before, seems to be entirely overlooked by the Judge.

No opportunity is allowed to pass without re-



affirming the great faith which the Socialist Party has in democracy.

Commenting on the refusal of the Board of Aldermen to seat Lee and Cassidy, who had been duly elected by the voters to seats in the Board of Aldermen, Panken allowed this striking commentary to be blazoned forth in the columns of the Call:

#### He's for "Democratic" Government

"The matter involves the very fundamentals of our system of democratic government."

One can almost feel Panken trembling for the safety of our glorious institutions as Taft did when, upon the passage of the recall measure in a Western state, he declared that it was laying the axe to the roots of the tree of Liberty.

Panken is also in favor of extending the blessings of democracy to Ireland, for he informs the Irish voters that "the position of the Socialist Party on the Irish question has always been definite—real freedom for Ireland as determined by the Irish People. Could any Socialist ask for something more definite?"

For fear that some might still mistake Panken for a revolutionist because he bears the Socialist label, he took care to inform an audience that he would never shoulder a gun; that he preferred to control the telephone from the White House to the prison in Atlanta.

#### What Is Socialism?

This is a variation of the new Socialist theme, so well expressed in the latest masterly summary on "What is Socialism" brought to light by the Call. In this leaflet we are told, "The Socialist Party, while it is revolutionary in its final aim, is none the less distinctly **evolutionary and constructive in its method.** (Bold face ours.) But the main reason for our favoring such measures (immediate demands) is because, if logically carried out they offer the possibility of a peaceful, **lawful and orderly transformation of society.**" (Bold face ours.)

Louis Waldman, late of Albany, evidently struck by Panken's neat way of putting the thought that Socialism is opposed to a proletarian dictatorship, and relies implicitly on the methods of American democracy in inaugurating a Socialist regime, makes use of the very same phrasing. "I do not want to shoulder a gun," he says. "I would rather have the keys to Atlanta than a musket at the warden's head." It may seem unkind to remind Waldman that in his testimony during the ouster proceedings, namely on February 25, 1920, in answer to a question as to whether he would fight against an invading enemy, he replied, that he would go out and shoulder a gun to repel the invader; not only that, but he would call upon all the workers to join him.

An interesting feature of the campaign was the effort on the part of the Socialists to break up meetings arranged by the Workers' League and to charge the Communists with working hand in glove with the Republican and Democratic parties.

#### Voters Getting Disillusioned

Occasional items in the Call would declare (September 25) "Fusionists Aid Communists? Reports have it that the old parties are openly aiding the Communists. It was stated that the fusion candidate for alderman is attending the Communist meetings. Another statement (September 29) read, "A concerted attack by Republicans, Democrats, and Communists, apparently working in harmony with each other, was made upon a Socialist meeting in the 17th A. D. A group of Communists stood in a row close to the speaker's stand. Nearly every one of the men wore glasses, in anticipation of trouble."

Ninety-five per cent of the former members of the Socialist Party have already deserted the ranks of the party. There remains nothing but the shell of a once powerful organization. The great mass of those who have supported the Socialist Party in the past are not yet fully aware of the party's betrayal of its former principles. A few more campaigns such as that waged in New York this fall, 1921, will disillusion them as thoroly as the former party members were disillusioned during the last two years.

## JOIN NOW!

Now is the time to join the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** and get into the struggle it is making to unite all the elements that have seceded or been expelled from the Socialist Party during the last two years.

We also want all additional workers who have been awakened to the necessity of a real working class political organization. Organize a group in your town.

The Workers' Council of the United States is a temporary organization. It is planning to call a national conference in the near future, to help build nationally along the lines laid down in the manifesto on the inside two pages.

Read this manifesto for yourself and decide whether it states your stand. If it does then fill out the application blank below and mail it to the **WORKERS' COUNCIL**, 80 E. 11th St., New York City. The initiation fee is 25c., the dues 50c. per month. Here it is:

#### Application for Membership in the Workers' Council OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I recognize the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. I favor the abolition of this system of class division of society. I realize the necessity for the working class organizing independently, as a class, both politically and economically, to lead in the struggle for the acquisition of all power for the workers. This final aim, the abolition of all classes, will be achieved by the working class obtaining for such limited time as may be necessary all the power in the state and doing away with all economic inequality at present covered by the system of would-be political democracy and the capitalist state. Communism, the complete abolition of any and all exploitation and the inauguration of a free, human society of socially equal men and women, is the final aim of the workers' rule. For the purpose of aiding in the struggle toward this goal, I apply for membership in the **WORKERS' COUNCIL** and I agree to be guided by its Constitution, Declaration of Principles and Program.

Signature .....

Address .....



# The Big Drive for Unity

**"THE** Workers' Council of the United States has been called into being for the purpose of aiding in the struggle to unite all class-conscious working-class groups into a truly revolutionary Socialist organization."

That is the first paragraph of the "Tentative Statement of the Position and Purposes of the Workers' Council," as published in the September issue of our magazine.

At this time we wish to announce that all indications point to great progress being made in this direction. We may soon have very important developments to announce.

Instead of a National Conference of the growing number of local organizations affiliated with THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, it is hoped that our Conference will be merged in a bigger gathering to lay the foundation for a mighty open party.

## Join The Workers' Council Now!

Organizations that should join in such a gathering, in addition to THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, are the American Labor Alliance, the Proletarian Party, the Bohemian Socialist Federation, the Jewish Socialist Federation, both withdrawn from the Socialist Party since the Detroit Convention; the Workers' Educational Society (Arbeiter Bildungs-Vereine), Finnish Socialist Federation, Bulgarian Federation, Scandinavian Socialist Federation, Hungarian Federation, and other groups, many strong organizations carrying aloft the banners of true Socialism, in the struggle to reach our final goal, a Communist Society.

Inspired by the promise of these developments, every worker now unaffiliated should find his place in this unifying effort. Join THE WORKERS' COUNCIL without delay, by filling out the blank that appears on another page. The initiation fee is 25 cents, the dues 50 cents per month. Help establish a local group of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, in your neighborhood, in your town.

## Making Big Forward Strides

Great strides forward have been made in our organization work since the last issue of our magazine went to its readers.

Our comrade in prison, Eugene V. Debs, received and was permitted to read a copy of the Withdrawal Statement of the Committee for the Third International from the Socialist Party, also the statement of the position and purposes of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. Prison officials, however, would not allow him to make a statement regarding these documents.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey reports that THE WORKERS' COUNCIL at Akron, Ohio, is well organized and has inaugurated a big educational campaign.

## Magazine Read Everywhere

Our magazine is selling well, all the way across the country, our dealer in Oakland, Cal., for instance reporting no unsold copies.

Secretary Engdahl had a good meeting at Paterson, N. J., where our magazine has been a welcome guest ever since it was established.

A list of names of prospective members of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL comes in from Harrison, N. J., and surrounding towns.

Steven Bircher, one of the original members of the Committee for the Third International, is arranging for an organization meeting of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL in Newark, N. J.

A second branch of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL has been organized in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Secretary Engdahl spoke at a Russian Famine Relief meeting in Washington, D. C. A large number of local comrades, among them several members of the local

machinists, told him of their intention to organize a Workers' Council group in the nation's capitol.

The Solid South has been invaded with the organization of a Workers' Council group at Richmond, Va.

Requests for literature of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL comes from a negro organization in New Orleans, La.

The organization and membership drive of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL in Chicago is making good progress.

## Launch Campaign for Jewish Daily

One of the encouraging demonstrations of the spirit of the new movement was the great mass meeting held by the Jewish Socialist Federation at the Lexington Opera House, New York, to launch the campaign for the raising of a fund to establish a Jewish daily paper.

This historic gathering contributed \$4,000 in cash and pledged \$10,000.

In addition to being a great financial success, the gathering was also a moral triumph, a terrific protest against the reactionary reformism of the existing Jewish Socialist daily, the Forward, and against the corrupting conservatism even in the so-called radical unions and in the Socialist Party.

## Ignore Conservative Leadership

Although some conservative leaders of the Workmen's Circle (Jewish workers' fraternal organization) had urged standing by the Socialist Party when the Jewish Federation broke away, nevertheless, it was the orchestra of the Workmen's Circles that opened the afternoon's proceedings with a program of music.

Among those contributing were large numbers of the branches of the Workmen's Circles. Although the various unions have as yet refrained from endorsing the new daily as organizations, nevertheless, strong groups in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Furriers, Capmakers, Bakers, and other unions with a large Jewish membership, were present at the meeting and turned in big contributions.

At a similar meeting held in Philadelphia the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union contributed \$500.

The speakers devoted most of their talks to showing the absolute need of a new daily in the Jewish language.

"Our Jewish Federation must be in the vanguard of a revolutionary movement that will make no peace with capitalism," declared Moissaye J. Olgin, author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution," who presided at the meeting.

"There are many who still adhere to the old discarded notions of Socialism, despite the great revolutionary storm in Europe and the significant symptoms in the United States.

## "Sympathize" with "Poor People"

"The liberal sympathies of the Socialist Party for the 'poor people,' instead of true, revolutionary leadership and direction, is its dominant tendency. It is a slave of bourgeois ideology.

Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, spoke of the struggles of the Volkszeitung, of the fights it has had with reactionary reformism in the Socialist movement.

"We want to build up a real, revolutionary movement," declared J. B. Salutsky, editor of the Naye Welt, the present weekly of the Jewish Federation. "The revolutionary elements of the labor movement are with us."

The New York comrades joined heartily in the campaign of the Workers' League, with Benjamin Gitlow, for mayor, and Harry Winitzky, for president of the board of aldermen. Both of these comrades are now serving prison terms.

The Manhattan Branch of Local New York, Workers' Council, is growing rapidly. On with the good work, comrades. If you are already a member, then get some sympathizer to sign the application blank that appears on another page. Organize a group in your town.



# Open War on the Coal Miners

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

**C**APITALISM has declared open war on the coal miners' union. It isn't the coal barons alone who are interested in this "open shop" drive against their age-long enemies, the mine workers.

The whole strength of the money power—capitalism itself—is being brought to bear in this struggle for the wiping out, if possible, of the United Mine Workers of America, the strongest organization of labor in the land.

In launching this new phase of its labor crushing activities, the exploiters have shown peculiar cunning.

They have secured an injunction from one of their most servile tools, Judge Anderson, of Indianapolis, Ind., which also happens to be the headquarters of the mine workers' international.

## Hit at "Check-off" System

This injunction is launched against the little known "check-off" system that the miners' union has forced upon the mine owners and used as one of its most powerful weapons.

The workers in the mining industry are not much different than those in the steel industry, in the metal mining industry, or in any other of the large non-union industries.

The miners' union has been compelled to fight against the problems arising from differences of nationality and religion among the workers.

It has done this successfully because it has been able to say to every man entering the mines to work, in the big mining states, "You must belong to our union."

Thru the check-off the mine owner is forced on each pay-day to check the union dues off the mine workers' wages and turn the dues collected over to the miners' union.

## Start War in Pittsburgh

In this way many a worker has no doubt been brought into the miners' union where he might not have joined. But it has resulted in every member of the miners' union finding out, at some time, why he is in the miners' union.

There are those who have criticised the miners' union for thus uniting with the bosses in the collection of dues.

That it is a right that has been forced upon the employers is now clearly apparent thru the attack directed against it.

Announcement is made that the Pittsburgh Coal Producers' Association has been chosen to launch the national campaign made possible by Judge Anderson's decision. The "Pittsburgh District," home of the steel trust, has always been a hard battleground for the miners' union. It will see the start of another great epoch-making struggle.

## Must Win New Victories

In this hour of trial we give voice to our solidarity with the men of the mines. They will and must rise victorious out of this new conflict.

It is very interesting to watch the present reactionary leadership of the workers in this new crisis.

President John L. Lewis, who so recently betrayed the cause of the miners once more at their recent international convention and, in his counter-attack against the brilliant fight of Howatt and the Kansas miners, now sends out his "orders" to the mine workers, not even under the regime of Gompers, Lewis, broken. He tells them now to "resist any attempt to abolish the 'check-off'."

Whatever the miners do, they will do it in spite of Lewis and his officialdom. They will win back that sturdy, fighting morale that has characterized their every struggle, against every obstacle that Lewis can be expected to put in its way.

Gompers comes to the front with his usual whine. He fears for the "conservative leadership" under such attacks as is directed against the organized labor movement by Judge Anderson's injunction. He thus admits that a new leadership must be called into power to meet the new problems.

## Capitalism Strengthens Dictatorship

Capitalism is moving forward to strengthen its dictatorship. It is not going to be "nice" to the workers, not even under the regime of Gompers, Lewis, et al.

Labor must learn that its greatest trials are ahead. The sooner they accept this truth, and the quicker they prepare for new and more decisive struggles, the sooner and the greater will be the victory.

Let the workers, in the mines and on the railroads, join those in other industries. Let them unite with the enlightened and aggressive workers of the land. Let them all get together to strengthen their economic and political organizations. The victory is ahead. So is the struggle.

Many a worker will thank you for giving him a copy or putting him in touch with our magazine. Help boost the subscription list by sending a sub to 80 East 11th St., New York City. \$1 per year.

*Cut out and mail with check or money order*

## SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

*The Workers' Council,*  
80 EAST 11th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Please enter my Subscription to *The Workers' Council* for One Year at \$1.00 (Six Months 50 Cts.)  
You will find correct amount enclosed.

Name.....

Address .....

City.....



# A Mighty Power!

---

Your magazine, THE WORKERS' COUNCIL, has already shown itself to be a mighty factor in the creation of an open Communist Party in this country.

It is answering the cry for unity with definite action that will help weld the thinking workers of America into a powerful, revolutionary working-class organization.

The workers will respond just as soon as they can be reached. We must reach them thru the hosts of readers that we have already gathered together in support of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL.

In other words, your magazine must be made bigger in size, and it must be issued more frequently. It must grow in power and influence. It must be a herald of the coming of the unified party.

Only this great need has been sufficient to persuade us to come to you in this crisis, seeking your co-operation in an effort to establish a sustaining fund of at least \$1,000 PER MONTH to give lasting power to this weapon of ours.

You have received the last two issues of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. You join the vast host of our readers in voting them the best so far issued. We must continue to grow and improve.

THE \$1,000 PER MONTH SUSTAINING FUND can easily be raised. It means that only 1,000 of our readers are called upon to pledge themselves to send in \$1 per month; or that 2,000 readers pledge themselves to send in 50 cents per month.

All should join in the declaration, "LET US DO IT!" In the future, when the struggle will become much lighter, you may then look back with pride to these trying days, when the burden was heavy and you helped bear it.

DO NOT HESITATE FOR A SECOND IN FILLING OUT AND SENDING IN THE ACCOMPANYING COUPON. HERE IT IS:—

---

## Make THE WORKERS' COUNCIL Bigger and Better!

The Workers' Council,  
80 East 11th Street,  
New York City

It is certainly very necessary to increase the influence of THE WORKERS' COUNCIL. I want to help. I, therefore, herewith contribute \$....., or pledge \$..... to aid in the struggle toward this end. I also agree to contribute \$..... per month for .... months.

NAME .....

ADDRESS ..... City ..... State .....